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ABSTRACT

Instructional systems for bilingual children are extraordinarily under the teachers' control. The role teachers actualize and the classroom practices they engage in are determined by the teachers' work-orientations and incentive systems. Work-orientations and incentive systems are fundamental in the resolution of schooling dilemmas, i.e., control, curriculum, and societal. A teacher oriented towards the production of achievement and viewing teaching as the way to socially relate in the organization sees that children do well in school and derives pleasure from teaching. This teacher treats the child as a whole, thinking, rational being. The child's time, the way learning takes place, and the standards for classroom behavior and performance are under the teacher's control. Because this teacher enjoys teaching, presenting knowledge as a process in the classroom is commonplace. He or she views motivation as being at least partially extrinsic in that the teacher must activate it. As the teacher attempts to teach to all and produce achievement, a norm is created within the classroom which reflects an overall system of behavior rather than fragmented activities and expectations. It is through this means that the individual cultural characteristics of the students are integrated into a social system which goes about learning in a bilingual classrom. Thus, the instructional systems for bilingual children are under the teachers' control. (NQA)

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INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEMS FOR BILINGUAL CHILDREN

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Instructional Systems for Bilingual Children

The Hispanic-American population is rapidly increasing. This is expected to have profound effects on our educational system. Moreover, this group is the youngest in our nation, so that the current and projected population increase is expected to continue for some time. Concurrently, the public school systems have not been particularly effective in educating the bilingual child. About 50% of the Hispanic-American youth drop out of school before graduating from high school. Data for other bilingual groups are not readily available. Also, of those who do graduate, a substantial percentage of them do not attend higher education institutions nor obtain high-paying occupational positions. The explanations for these outcomes have covered low self-esteem, low IQ's, and the inability to speak English. This report is an attempt to identify those components which make up an instructional system for bilingual children. The objective is to show that the improvement of education for the bilingual child is dependent on particular elements, practices and attitudes.

Methodology

This report is based on a broad literature review and a year-long study of 15 elementary teachers. The literature review covered instruction, learning and bilingual education. The study of the 15 elementary teachers was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Education, "Controlling the Impact of Rewards and Incentives on Teacher Task Performance." The study

was conducted in a Southern California metropolitan school district. Data were collected by classroom and non-classroom observations. Teachers were also interviewed twice during the study. Relevant documents and written materials were also collected and compiled.

This particular report is drawing solely from the data regarding work-orientations and incentive systems and classrooms which had bilingual students. One classroom is emphasized, but data from teachers and other classrooms are also utilized in the analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Berlak and Berlak (1981) present sixteen dilemmas of schooling. These dilemmas are presented as the basis for explaining the nature of control teachers exert over children in school. Briefly, the dilemmas are in three sets: control, curriculum and societal. The teacher's role is extremely potent in the resolution of these dilemmas.

The four control dilemmas are "intended to capture the tensions over locus and extent of control over students"(135). The dilemma, whole child versus child as student

> focuses on the pull, on the one hand, towards taking control over or responsibility for a wide range or realms of the child's development, represented as whole child; and on the other hand, towards defining the range of control more narrowly, child as student (137).

The second dilemma, time control, concerns whether teachers control "when children will begin activities and the duration of the activity and, allowing children to control their own time" (138).

The third dilemma, operations control, relates to the teacher "exerting detailed and specific control over how children are to behave in the various curricular domains and, allowing children to exercise control over their behavior" (140).

The fourth dilemma, standards control, captures the

> cross-pulls in themselves and in society toward teachers controlling standards and towards allowing children to control standards themselves. A distinction may be made between who sets and who maintains or monitors standards (141).

"Teachers' control of time and operations taken together determine students' work rate" (140). By "examining the locus of control over standards, one can also identify contradictions in control patterns within classrooms (141).

The curriculum dilemmas

The personal versus the public knowledge dilemma represents, in its most "general form, a cleavage in the western tradition over what is worthwhile and adequate knowledge." Teachers believe that worthwhile knowledge consists of the accumulated traditions of the ages, traditions which have a value external to and independent of the knower. This is public knowledge. Or, teachers believe that the value of knowledge is established through its relationship to the knower (144-145).

The "knowledge as content versus the knowledge as process dilemma" is the second dilemma in this set. This dilemma

> formulates the pulls toward viewing public knowledge as organized bodies of information, codified facts, theories, generalizations, on the one hand, or as a process of thinking

> reasoning and testing used to establish the truth or adequacy of a body of content or set of propositions, on the other (147).

Knowledge as given versus knowledge as problematical "focuses our attention on the pull toward treating knowledge as truth 'out there,' and the alternative pull towards treating knowledge as constructed, provisional, tentative, subject to political, cultural and social influences" (148).

The intrinsic verses the extrinsic motivation dilemma "pulls toward the position that the impetus for learning comes and should come - primarily from within ...[or] to the notion that action by the teacher is required for learning to be initiated and sustained by the learner" (149).

The dilemma, learning is holistic versus learning is molecular, is a way "of analyzing differences in teachers' responses to tensions within them (and in the culture) over how people learn and retain what they have learned" (151).

> The dilemma, each child unique versus children have shared characteristics, focuses on two contrasting conceptions of how significant are differences among children for selecting knowledge and organizing for teaching and learning. On the one hand, teachers are drawn towards dealing with children in ways that focus upon how they resemble one another. Teachers may also view children sufficiently similar so that they can prescribe the same curriculum for all children - varying only the pace and standards of performance. On the other hand, teachers are drawn towards seeing each child as a unique mix of an infinite number of dimensions, an idiosyncratic configuration of social, intellectual and physical skills, interest, histories, emotions, learning rates and learning styles (153).

The Societal Dilemmas

The childhood continuous versus childhood uinque dilemma focuses on two contrasting conceptions of childhood. First, teachers view childhood as a "special period in a person's life that should be prized and nourished, and a view of children as qualitatively different from adults in the ways they perceive the world, communicate and learn." Second, teachers treat "children as persons who differ, not in kind, but only in degree, from adults. Childhood is seen from this perspective as a time of preparation for adult life, for learning what one will need as an adult to cope successfully with the workaday world" (157).

Equal allocation of resources versus differential allocation dilemma "represents two contrasting conceptions of distributive justice. Teachers view all children as deserving equal shares and the idea that some students merit more than others (159).

Equal justice under law versus ad hoc application of rules dilemma "captures a tension implicit in the acts of teachers and others who confront the problems of dealing with transgressions upon the rules and norms of groups" (162). First, there is a "pull toward applying equal and uniform sanctions for the same transgressions, no person to be above the law and all exemptions based on public and clearly defined principales. The opposing pull is toward exempting or punishing individuals for idiosyncratic or individual reasons" (162).

The common culture versus sub-group consciousness dilemma is " an effort to capture the tension" regarding the development in children of a "common set of social definitions, symbols, values, views of qualities that 'good' men and women in that culture and/or 'good' citizens of that nation should possess" and the development in children of consciousness of themselves "as members of

a 'sub'-group, distinguished from others, perhaps by distinctive customs, language, dress, history, values and appearance" (164).

Mitchell, Ortiz, Mitchell (1982) specify work-orientations and incentive systems which determine the role teachers actualize and the classroom practices they engage in. The first incentive system is that teachers differ in their conceptions of the overall purpose or mission of schooling. Some believe that the primary cultural mission is the "production of achievement" while others believe that it is "child development or nurturance." Three common beliefs are shared by the production of achievement teachers. They are: 1) teachers, not students are responsible for initiating the learning process, 2) schooling is serious work, and 3) teaching work is primarily instructional or directive. The child development teachers believe that: 1) students have the capacity to, and thus bear an ultimate responsibility for, initiating their own learning processes, 2) learning works best if children's interests, curiosities or sense of play is utilized to engage them in classroom activities, and 3) teaching is most effective if learning is evoked or educed from children rather than pressed upon them (Ex-5).

The second incentive system is teachers' orientation toward social relationships within the school. Some teachers see students as their primary group whereas the others orient more toward the social system created by other adults. The student-centered group see teaching primarily in terms of "teaching lessons." Those who respond to adults view classroom work as "keeping school." This latter group is more interested in developing adequate programs, properly placing children within those programs and encouraging or insisting upon student compliance with the demands of these programs. The "lesson teaching" teachers focus on the structure and conduct of specific

lessons rather than the organization and implementation of programs.

These two aspects: the school dilemmas and the work-orientations and incentive systems teachers bring to the classroom are used as the bases for the development of instructional systems for bilingual children.

Analysis

Children are expected to attend school for several years of their lives. They are also expected to acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes during that time. Bilingual children are presumed to bring with them special problems. These problems are: 1) lack of language facility, 2) lack of social skills, 3) lack of personal motivation, and 4) lack of family and/or community support in the engagement of school activities.

Programs are instituted to aid these children and their special problems. Children are treated differently because they are a group with special problems. Each of these practices leads to instructional systems which are different for bilingual children from those of other children.

As was stated in the theoretical framework section, teachers may view their social relationships with students in terms of teaching them lessons or keeping school. They may also view the mission of the school as either producing achievement or developing or nurturing children.

The instructional program which is delivered to bilingual children is directly affected by the work-orientations and incentive systems and by the way teachers resolve the dilemmas presented above. One classroom will be used to illustrate how the resolution of the dilemmas is dependent on the teachers' work-orientations and incentive systems and finally on the type of services which are delivered to the bilingual students.

This teacher is work-oriented toward producing achievement and teaching lessons. For example, he says,

> I like teaching because I like to be with kids. I like the idea of being sort of a public servant. It is something that I enjoy. It is sort of like a way of helping society. There is a need for it and it is something that I very much enjoy doing. I love learning and I really get interested and turned on to the things that I am doing in class. I expand on it, discover new things right along with the kids.
>
> Watching a child make a discovery is satisfying. They didn't exactly understand something and then the excited tone of voice, "Oh, now I understand." That is one of the most satisfying things for me. And, I always try to remind myself that I really don't have that much to do with it. It is a realization that comes upon them, sort of on its own. You provide them with the materials and you build up the right climate for it to happen but the learning takes place in their own mind. But it is neat being there at the time that you see it happen.

This same teacher resolves the dilemma of the whole child versus the child as a student by using various strategies. One of them is to appeal to children's rationality and capacity to make decisions on their own. The following lesson is an example.

> He said to them, "Study the top card and see if you can figure out what it is. If you are not sure, then we will help you. I'll give you an example." He looks up and says

to Table 1: "Jolina, are people back there choosing to put their heads down?"

Jolina answers, "No."

The teacher says, "Then you need to choose to be quiet."

The dilemma of time control is also resolved in a specific way. For example, nearing closing time of a lesson, the teacher says,

Magazine people, you have about a minute before the bell rings. Freddie, if you sit still, it is easier to listen. Those noisy chairs make it harder to listen.

The bell rings.

"Ok, you are dismissed," the teacher says.

The dilemma regarding operations control is also resolved by the way the teacher conducts his lessons. An example is the following.

Teacher - "We are going to see if you can find those states which we have been working on." He names a state, gives a child a pointer.

Student response - The child points it out.

Teacher - "Robbie, we won't give you your home state this time. This time we will give you a harder one, Alabama. It is down from your home state. You should remember the ones close to California. Those are the easiest, remember."

Student response - He locates the state.

Teacher - "Sara Booth, you go find Wyoming."

(The principal has stopped at the door and looked in. He asks, "Can anyone find my home state?"

Student response - One child found it.

Teacher - "That was a very difficult task for someone."

This teacher resolves the dilemma regarding the standards control in a similar manner.

Teacher - "We are working on page 89 right now where the house is burning. If there was a house burning for real you would not get close to the house. No one here would try to save the dog. You might get killed yourself."

(The sun has been blocked by the fire's smoke and it has made the room a little darker. It has also become chilly. The teacher has been repeating what he said, making it clear that there is only one acceptable answer to that question).

Teacher - "It is more important to save a human life than saving a dog's life."

This example illustrates how the teacher sets and maintains control. The control may be in the lesson proper as well as outside it.

The knowledge as content versus knowledge as process dilemma is resolved by preferring knowledge as process. The teacher says,

The most important thing that I teach is probably go back to love of learning or how to learn or getting used to learning, things of that sort. Because to say that anything, like behavior is more important than attitude or attitude is more important than academics, it all goes together and I think it is just to get the kids to like to learn. And it sort of includes all those other things.

Knowledge as given or knowledge as problematic dilemma is partially resolved in going through the process of making choices in class exercises

or behavior, but the choices must be acceptable to the teacher. An example of the class exercise was presented above. An example of the behavior choice is the following. The teacher says,

> Don't help Freddy. He can think for himself. I like the way Richard sits during the lesson. It shows he is paying attention.

The intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation dilemma is resolved by the teacher's own projection of motivation. He says,

> How do you get the kids to like learning? I think that the only way we can do it is by being an example of it. If you want the kids to like learning you have to like learning yourself. You have to be enthusiastic about what you are doing. If you are going to present a math lesson and you absolutely hate math and get up to the board and you start hating what you are doing, they are going to see it. And, it is going to be that way with anything you are doing. And I know from personal experience that a lot of elementary school teachers prefer reading or the language arts areas over math areas and unfortunately a lot of children end up with a pro-reading bias by the time they leave elementary school and a rather anti-math bias and I think that is tragic. I think in that respect we should either be non-biased toward either or biased toward both. Just be enthusiastic about everything.

The learning is holistic versus learning is molecular dilemma is resolved by teaching in the molecular fashion most often.

Teacher - "Johnny, have you figured out what your word is?
Can you give us a sentence now using that word?"
Student replies.
Teacher asks the same as above to another child.
Child has trouble with the word, looking.
Teacher - "Can someone help her sound it out?"
Child sounds out the work and then gives the following sentence. "We are looking at the fish."
Teacher - "Sandra, do you want us to come back to you?
Do you know what a log is?"
Another child does not know her word.
A student gives his word, and the word is food. He then gives the following sentence: "The racoons see the food."
Teacher - "Very good, Robbie."
(The teacher says this in both English and Spanish. Each child gives a work in turn and then gives a sentence after the word. This process continues until a child does not understand a word).

The each child unique versus children has shared characteristics dilemma is handled by this teacher by choosing to present many all-class lessons and a few small group lessons and even fewer individual lessons. The prominant feature in making this decision seems to be based on whether a given body of knowledge should be presented to all or a few and on the basis that the teacher <u>enjoys</u> teaching. The consideration for the child is third in importance.

As the above dilemma is resolved, so is that in which learning is social rather than individual. The teacher realizes that the learning takes place in the student, but the teacher views it as his responsibility to set up a

social process in which the student has this opportunity. In this way, the child is more likely to be viewed as a person rather than a client.

As the teacher confronts the childhood is continuous versus the childhood is unique dilemma, the resolution is presented in the manner by which he "expects children to learn those things they will need as adults."

If resources are viewed as lessons, time and attention, this teacher allocates resources more equally by choosing to teach most of his lessons to the total group, a few to small groups and even fewer to individuals. This practice indicates a reluctance to teach, spend more time or give attention differentially. The fundamental basis for this seems to be that he prefers to teach lessons and that he views the mission of the school as the production of achievement. Therefore, his decisions regarding the dilemmas are congruent to his beliefs.

The dilemma regarding equal justice under law versus ad hoc application of rules is resolved in a consistent manner. The lesson presented below is an example of how the classroom behavior is maintained.

> The teacher walks back to table 1. He says, "Remember when you get rid of the water you pour it in here (a white bowl). Then you empty it in the sink. That makes less of a mess."
> The children continue working.
> The teacher then walks to table 2. He says, "Jan is working so quietly. That is so helpful. She does not bother other people who are working."
> One child at table 3 is all finished.
> The teacher says, "It is good to write neatly and be fast too. You have done a good job. While you are waiting for the rest of the group you can go back and work on some of the easy ones."

The dilemma regarding the common culture versus sub-group consciousness is resolved through the practice of bilingual education. This teacher defines bilingual education in the following way.

> But for me, the idea of bilingual education is to help children that come from another language, in this case it is Spanish, and help them learn to read in their own language. And, then be able, once they are strong in those skills, to start picking up the other language, English in this case. And that is the so-called NES children and the LES. There, most often you have children below grade level for a variety of different reasons, and the attempt with them is to try to bring them up to grade level. But through different kinds of things, partly teaching them Spanish and getting them enticed to find out about their own culture, making them feel proud about themselves, and studying a little bit about their history, folk customs and different things.
>
> And bilingual education to me, is also a sharing. That is where you get the kids that don't speak Spanish and teach them that language.

Conclusions

Work-orientations and incentive systems serve as fundamental in the resolution of schooling dilemmas. Because bilingual children attend school with particular problems it is even more important to understand the bases on which teachers practice. This report has shown how a teacher who is oriented towards the production of achievement and views teaching lessons as the way to socially relate in the organization resolves dilemmas regarding schooling. His potency and value as a teacher reside in seeing children do

well in school and in the pleasure he derives from teaching. His practices are, therefore, designed to achieve these two objectives. As he goes about his work, certain aspects stand out which lead to the resolution of the fundamental schooling dilemmas.

First, he treats the child as a whole, thinking rational being. He controls the time for children by the manner in which he begins and ends lessons. He also controls the way learning takes place by conducting many teacher-led verbal lessons with the total class. In this manner, he controls the students' rate of work quite rigidly. Consistent with the above practices, the standards for classroom behavior and performance are also under the teacher's control.

Second, because this teacher enjoys teaching, presenting knowledge as a process in the classroom is commonplace. He emphasizes the problematic nature of knowledge by providing "choice" experiences for the students. This is conditioned by having students "make choices" regarding their behavior and performance which are acceptable to him. Due to this teacher's belief in producing achievement, he views motivation as being at least partially extrinsic in that he must activate it. The belief that learning is molecular is revealed in the manner this teacher conducts his lessons. Students are systematically presented material in a sequential manner. As the teacher prefers to teach to the class as a whole, the views that children have shared characteristics and thatlearning is social are revealed. Associated with the above beliefs is the expectation that children should learn that which will be useful to them when they become adults. In brief, the curriculum dilemmas are resolved consistent with the fundamental work-orientations and incentive systems.

The societal dilemmas regarding the allocation of resources, the application of equal justice and cultural consciousness are resolved in line with his beliefs about his work and his relationship to it. As he attempts to teach to all and produce achievement, a norm is created within the classroom which reflects an overall system of behavior rather than fragmented activities and expectations. It is through this means that the individual cultural characteristics of his students are integrated into a social system which goes about learning in a bilingual classroom. The learning encompasses various cultures besides those represented by the classroom participants. In summary, instructional systems for bilingual children are extraordinarily under the control of teachers. This control is lodged in the teachers' work-orientations and incentive systems.

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